7:Spier E-5 (1918-1921) 1929
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

American Anthropologist

NEW SERIES

ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION, THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF WASHINGTON, AND THE AMERICAN ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF NEW YORK

ROBERT H. LOWIE, *Editor*, Berkeley, California
FRANK G. SPECK and E. W. GIFFORD, *Associate Editors*

VOLUME 31

MENASHA, WISCONSIN, U. S. A.

PUBLISHED FOR

THE AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

1929

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American Anthropologist
NEW SERIES

Vol. 31 APRIL-JUNE, 1929 No. 2

PROBLEMS ARISING FROM THE CULTURAL POSITION OF THE HAVASUPAI

By LESLIE SPIER

I

THE observation has often been made that culture areas are geographically and culturally continuous. As Wissler remarks in his study of the *Material Cultures of the North American Indians* (p. 468),[1] there commonly are no sharp breaks in cultural distribution. Transitions are gradual from one culture center to another of different type, the intervening groups presenting in sequence the whole range of traits combined variously. This is so much a commonplace that the field ethnologist acts on it, interpolating between known cultures to forecast what he might expect in a tribe lying between them.

In 1918–21 I visited the Havasupai Indians of northern Arizona for the American Museum of Natural History and the Southwest Society of New York. A description of their culture has recently been published, in which I have included a series of distribution studies, taking my departure from the traits of Havasupai life.[2]

The Havasupai are a small and little-known tribe living in the vicinity of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado. They are western neighbors, at some remove, of the Hopi and Zuñi, and as such it was expected that they would share the Pueblo culture of these peoples to considerable degree. This is not the case; the cultural step-down is surprising. Pueblo elements are only scantily repre-

[1] AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, n.s., 16: 447–505, 1914.
[2] Havasupai Ethnography. Anthr. Pap. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., 29, pt. 3, 1928.

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105 171 emted in their life, which on the whole is like that of the semi-nomadic, rude tribes of the Great Basin of Nevada and Utah. This is true not only of the Havasupai but also of the remaining groups of the western Arizonan plateau, the linguistically related Walapai and Yavapai.

121 125 In order to bring out the cultural position of the Havasupai I have drawn up a table (table 1) of the elements characterising the several sub-areas of this region. I have leaned heavily on Kroeber's characterisations in his *Handbook of the Indians of California*,[1] and earlier papers. I have also built on the basis of Wissler's summaries of the material cultures, realizing however that the description of the Plateau area[2] hardly applies to its southern or Basin half. There is a very unequal weighting of the items of the table, the rich ritualism of the Pueblo, e.g., being dismissed with a few catch-words that level it to the order of the dances of the Basin tribes. And on the contrary I have enlarged on some minutiae because they offered an opportunity to show comparisons with the Havasupai. Like any tabular statement it suffers from 171 abridgment but shows the situation at a glance. It must be understood that the Havasupai, being geographically one of the Western Rancheria peoples, have been drawn on in framing the culture of that group.[3] Those items that Havasupai traits most closely resemble are marked by an asterisk.

A simple count of the traits in which the Havasupai resemble these groups shows half again as many correspondences with the Western Rancheria and Basin peoples as with the others. No importance can be attached to a count of this sort but the result does coincide with my judgment derived by less mechanical procedure. I will present this in the following summary.

105 171 Material culture and economic life place the Havasupai clearly with the Basin group. To be sure they are primarily agricultural-

[1] Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 78, 1925.

[2] Op. cit., 451.

[3] The composition of this Western Rancheria group may not be obvious. It includes the tribes lying between the western Pueblos and the Colorado river i.e., Navaho, Western Apache, Pima, Papago, Tonto, Havasupai, Yavapai, Walapai, and others.

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	Central California	Southern California
Boats	balsa	canoe
Cradle	trapezoidal basketry sex indicated	U-frame *horizontal ribs
Birth Customs	*limited couvade *meat taboo	*limited couvade *meat taboo
Names	meaningful for ancestors	(for relatives?)
Social Organization	*some patrilineal moieties	patrilineal sibs ceremonial phratries
Marriage	*polygamous purchase *temporary matrilocal levirate sororate	*polygamous *agreement patrilocal levirate sororate
Kinship System	Omaha type	*Yuman type
Political Organization	rich chiefs *hereditary	*chiefs *hereditary titles for chiefs
	herald	ceremonial leaders
Money	shell money	
Shamanism	*important guest or *dream *some inheritance	*important by birth or *dream
	bear, snake, and rain doctors *disease agent pathogenic	bear, snake, and rain *pathogenic
Religious Concepts	guardian spirits	* mystic, inward view
Rituals and Dances	Hukas cult spirit impersonation initiation foot drum in winter	Toloache rites myth references initiation ground paintings song cycles

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Southern California	Lower Colorado River	Basin	West
cause *	balse	some balsas	*
U-frame *horizontal ribs	*U-frame *horizontal ribs	*elliptical vertical ribs for transport	*
*limited couvade *meat taboo	*meat taboo	*limited couvade *meat taboo *sorcerer	
(for relatives?)	reticent *nicknames	*readily used *nicknames and meaningless	*
patrilineal sibs ceremonial phratries	patrilineal inheritance of group names for women	*sibless	
*polygamous *agreement patrilocal levirate sororate	*polygamous *agreement patrilocal	*polygamous bride service *temporary matrilocal levirate sororate	*
*Yuman type	*Yuman type	*Yuman and Mackenzie types	
*chiefs *hereditary titles for chiefs ceremonial leaders	*tribal cohesion generous chiefs *hereditary war leaders dance leaders	*chiefs; advisory hunt chief *speaker	
*important by birth or *dream	*dream *shaman killed	*important men and women *dream *shaman killed	
...ears bear, snake, and rain) *pathogenic	soul loss	*pathogenic	
*_ mystic, inward view	*_ myth-dreams	(guardian spirits?)	
Tolowaka rites myth references initiation ground paintings song cycles	absent song-myth cycles *Mohave dance *circle dance	*scanty *Bear dance *circle dance *reluctance to dance	

Table 1 (Cont'd)

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	Western Mohaveria	Pueblo
ase	*some	*some
al	*elliptical	rectangular?
ribe	*horizontal ribe	wood
sport	for transport also cloth swing	*for sleeping
ssumde po r		
ased and meaningless	*esoteric	esoteric refers to sib changed at initiation
	sibs; some pat- rilineal moieties	matrilineal sibs; some patrilineal moieties
e rvice matrilocal	*polygamous *agreement patrilocal, some temporary matrilocal some levirate and sororate some mother-in-law taboo	monogamous *agreement matrilocal and patrilocal *— *—
Mohavean types		Acoma and Crow types
dvisory f	*chiefs; some hereditary some councils	dual chieftainship priestly councils
	crier dance leader	crier war priest as dance leader
	*important men and women *inheritance	curing fraternities *vision quest absent
illed	weather shamans	
o	*-	*pathogenic *— *rain fertilization color and direction symbolism
spirits?)	moderate curing dance *harvest dance ground paintings some tablets	numerous; calendric ceremonial fraternities initiation *masks tablets
e nce e to dance		

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	Central California	Southern California	Lower Co
Food	wild seeds and small game	wild seeds and small game	*agricult mostly w
			*planting
			*side-sca fish
	fish	rabbit net	
		curved club	curved c
	*mortar	*mortar	wooden m
		*grinding slab	*grinding
	*seed parching	*seed parching	*seed par
Houses	earth lodge	*gable-roofed or	square:
	*gable or *conical mat covered	*conical	roofed
		*brush and dirt	wood, b
Sweathouse	sweat slab-house contains fire	*sweathouse fire	no sweat
Basketry	*mush		scarce
	*twine	little twine	some tw
	*coil	coil	
	some jugs	some jugs	
	*conical burden	*conical	carrying
Weaving		*rabbitskin blankets	string
Pottery		rough, brown steatite pots	usually painted
ornamenting			
Dress	♂- apron	♂-apron	♂-apron
	hairnet	*♀-two aprons	*♀-two
	*♀- two aprons	basket hat	
	*rabbitskin robe		*bead je
	*moccasins	fiber sandals	barefoo
	*tattooing	*tattooing	*tattooi
War and Weapons	*peaceful	*peaceful	warlike
	*self bow	*self bow	*self bo
	*backed	*reed arrows	*reed ar
			club
	no scalping	*scalping	*scalpin

Table 1. The element

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ifornia	Lower Colorado River	Basin	Wes
ed	*agriculture mostly women	wild seeds and small game	irr
	*planting stick		*pl
	*side-scraper hoe		*sid
	fish	fish	*fis
		*rabbit drives	
	curved club	rabbit net	
	wooden mortar	*seed beater	
b	*grinding slab	*grinding slab	*gri
g	*seed parching	*seed parching	*see
or	square; gambrel-roofed	*conical	
rt	wood, brush and dirt	*brush and dirt	
	no sweathouse	*sweathouse	
		*steams, steam	
	scarce	*bark	
	some twine	*twine	
		*sail	
		*jugs pitched	
	carrying frame	*conical	
lankets	string bags	*rabbitskin blankets	
	unslipped painted	(some rough ware?)	
		smoke tan	
	♂-apron or *breechcloth	scanty; *breechcloth	
	♀-two aprons	♀-skin dress? *two aprons	
		basket hat	
	*bead jewelry	*rabbitskin robe	
ale	barefoot?	*moccasins and sandals	
	*tattooing		
	warlike	*peaceful	
	*self bow	*backed bow	
	*reed and *wood arrows	*wood arrows	
	club		
	*scalping	*scalping	

Table 1. The elements characterizing the several sub-areas of the Havasupai area.

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	Western Hancharts	Pueblo
and	some agriculture with irrigation	*main dependence on agriculture
	wild seeds and game of equal importance	*men and women till
	*planting stick	*irrigation
	*side-scraper hoe	*planting stick
	*fish taboo	*side-scraper hoe
		fish
wee		*rabbit drives
		carved club
r		domestic turkey
lab	*pit roasting	*grinding slab
ing	*seed parching	*wafer bread
	*sub-conical or *gable roofed	communal; rectangular
dirt	*brush and dirt	masonry
	*sweathouse	kiva
wes	*stones, steam	fire
	*yucca	cotton
	coil	splint
	twine	wicker
ed	splint	coil
blankets	some	yucca; men
	loom, spindle, belt loom	loom, spindle, belt loom
	*some cotton grown	cotton grown
h ware?)	*rough, brown	highly developed slipped and painted (men?)
	*men	
breechclout	*(-breechclout	*(-poncho
ns? *two aprons	*(apron or skirt (skin dress	kilt ?-square of cloth
robe	*bead jewelry	bead jewelry
and sandals	*moccasins and sandals	*moccasins and sandals
		*women barefoot at home
	predatory	*peaceful
	*self bow	*self bow
s	*wood and reed arrows	*wood arrows
		carved club
	*tunic armor	blade-studded club
	shield	shield
	*scalping	*scalping

of the Havasupai area.

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	Central California	Southern California
Rituals and Dances(cont.)	rattlesnake rite shamanistic displays clown dance house magpie headdress cleft rattle	fire dance stick swallowing circular enclosure turtle and *gourd rattle feather skirt
Puberty Rites	some boys' teloesahe rites *girls' rites scanty *meat taboo *scratcher	boys' teloesahe rites girls' rites dance *heating *meat taboo *scratcher
Death Customs	*cremation some burial some mourning anniversary pitch on widows	*cremation some burial mourning anniversary
Pattern Number	*4,6	various
Folktales	animal tales personifications origins for traits	sky father and earth mother *birth and wandering of men *dying god god of ritual
Games	hand game	hand game
Language	Yokuts Miwok Wintun Maidu etc.	Shoshonean *Yuman Chumash

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hern California	Lower Colorado River	Basin	Wes
dances		*dance directors	
x swallowing		*shamanistic displays	*ma
ular enclosure			*cl
le and *gourd rattle		(circular enclosure?)	*br
her skirt	basket drum	notched rasp	
' toloache rites	*(drink toloache)	*beauty girls' rites	gir
s' rites	*beauty girls' rites	seclusion	cer
e			
ing	*beating		
taboo		*meat taboo	
toher		*scratcher	*sc
ation	*cremation	burial	*cr
burial	*house burned	some cremation	bur
ning anniversary	mourning for notables		*ho
	structure burned		
pan	*4	5	
er and earth mother	wandering heroes	*animal stories	*cr
l wandering of man	transformed		*wa
s	*antagonistic heroes		*wo
itual	*dying god		god
	*flood		sib
	sky-rattlesnake		*co
	*tribes located		
	war tales		
game	*hoop and pole	hand game	*st
	*hidden ball		*hi
	*sup and pin		*ho
			*sh
honean	*Yuman	Shoshonean	Ath
s		Washo	*Yu
ath			Pi

Table 1 (Cont'd)

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basin	Western Anasheria	Pueblo
directors		altars
listic displays	*masks	ground paintings
	*clowns	*prayer offerings
ar enclosure?)	*brush enclosure	fetiches
		images
d rasp		ceremonial chambers
		*clowns
		dance directors
		*gourd rattle
		*drum
girls' rites	girls' adolescence	*(drink tolowche)
ion	ceremony/seclusion	ceremonial washing
ahoo		
her	*scratcher	
	*cremation	burial
remation	burial	
	*house burned	
		*4, *7
stories	*emergence and deluge	*emergence and deluge
	*water-and sun-conceived heroes	
	*monsters destroyed	
	gods	gods
	sibs located	
	*coyote tales	
me	*stick dice	ritual significance
	*hidden ball	stick racing
	*hoop and pole	*hidden ball
	*shinny	*stick dice
		*hoop and pole
mean	Athapaskan	Tanoan
	*Tanoan	Keresan
	Piman	Zuñi
		Shoshonean

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ists like the Pueblos and conduct cultivation in the same fashion, more so than the lower Colorado tribes. There is however an alternation with fall-to-spring seed- and root-gathering activities of the Basin type. The house construction of the Basin and Western Rancheria areas is similar, with the Havasupai showing something of lower Colorado and southern California forms as well. Their sweatlodge and its uses are of the type widespread in the western non-Pueblo area, the Basin, the Northwest, and the Plains. Domestic utensils are large numbers of baskets as in the Basin and in twine technique. Seed-beaters, parching trays, narrow-necked jugs, and conical burden baskets have Basin and central Californian affiliations on the whole. Pottery is specifically the Western Rancheria type, which has analogues in the southern Basin. Dress for women is the two-apron affair of California and the Basin in contrast to the Pueblo garment. Men's costumes resemble the Plains, hence may have no claim to antiquity.

Social customs and organization are of the excessively simple Basin type. Every vestige of sibs is lacking; the family is the sole unit, with some further nucleating because of common patrilocal residence, which in turn is based on patrilineal inheritance of land. Marriage is permissibly polygamous (in contrast to strict Pueblo monogamy) and contracted by agreement. Post-nuptial residence is temporarily matrilocal as in the Basin and central California, in contrast on the one side to the matrilocal western Pueblos and on the other to patrilocal southern California. Kinship terminology is characteristically Yuman. In the readiness with which personal names are used they are unlike the generality of Southwestern and Californian peoples. In their meaningless character, or as nicknames, these resemble the Basin. The slight political structure is also of Basin type: chiefs have advisory function alone and at meetings are provided with speakers. There is none of the pluralistic leadership (hunt bosses, etc.) of Basin type, however, and their bias toward hereditary succession aligns them rather with the Californians. Tribal solidarity of the lower Colorado pattern exists, but we must not overlook that the Havasupai form but a single local group in contrast to the large tribal aggregations of that region. On the other hand

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105 171 they have emphatically the peaceful disposition of the Pueblos, the Basin peoples, and California at large.

Crisis ceremonialism is absent. At birth, there is a limited couvade which connects with the Basin especially and California. Cremation aligns them with the tribes to the west rather than the Pueblos, but commemorative rites of the western region are lacking. Of adolescent rites, those for boys are lacking, as in the Basin; girls' rites and in fact menstrual customs at large are of the Californian type and the Basin, except that there is no seclusion, in which they are one with Pueblos and the Plains tribes.

The relative prominence of the shaman and the absence of organized religious rites is again an expression of an outlook basically of Basin type. Specifically, familiar spirits are possessed by shamans alone, whose power is acquired in dreams. Specialization is minimal; weather shamans, e.g., hardly form a separate class. The absence of the vision-quest is Californian, Basin, and Southwestern; the dream source, Basin and Californian. Disease is due to a pathogenic agent, as in all neighboring areas except the lower Colorado. Pueblo religious concepts appear only in some prayer plume planting, rain producing as an indefinite aim of social dancing, and Pueblo ritualism only in some slight masked dancing.

Dances are secular and specifically of Basin type, the round (squaw) dance and the Bear dance. Ritual dances of the Pueblos are as such absent; nor is the absorption of the lower Colorado tribes in ritual without dancing duplicated here. Masks, altars, ground paintings, god impersonation, ritual chambers, organized bodies, a priesthood, are all absent; on the other hand, song cycles are also.

Their mythology is a neat blend of Western Rancheria types, those of the Colorado and southern California, with a large ingredient of Basin tales. The dying god, the emergence and deluge, the wanderings of peoples, sun- and water-conceived heroes in the forms known to Pueblos and southern Californians are compounded. Familiar Coyote tales of the Basin reappear. There is no color-direction symbolism. The pattern number is four and sometimes seven, but it figures in the tales alone. In the Basin

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and northwestward the number is five, in the Southwest and Plains, four and seven, on the lower Colorado, four, in California at large, quite variable. 105 171

All in all, Havasupai culture is of the Basin type with some affiliations elsewhere in intangible culture; a few ritualistic elements link with the Pueblos, mythologic elements perhaps more with southern California. That the Havasupai link with other Western Rancheria peoples occasions no surprise since they are geographically one of them, but the striking observation is that in culture they conform equally to Great Basin characteristics. In fact, in the general simplicity of their culture and in the specific details of its elements, they are more clearly participants in Basin culture than in that of the western neighbors of the Pueblos. 171

In this the Walapai and Yavapai resemble them, so far as we know. Nor is this inexplicable, since all these are located peripherally to the Pueblo focus and at some distance, yet are relatively unaffected by the life of the lower Colorado. We must look upon the culture of these three tribes as representing an extension of the Basin area southward across the plateau of western Arizona.

It is not certain that such specific Pueblo elements as appear among the Havasupai were directly derived. Their attenuation suggests rather that they were derived from some intervening group, who in the light of known contacts, must have been the Navaho. The difficulty is that they may not have had contact with the Navaho before the middle of the last century, but it may also be that the traits are no older than that in Havasupai life. I have in mind here the few masked dancers and clowns, prayer plumes placed at springs, and the rather weak sentiment that dances are prayers for rain. 171 174

Agriculture among the Havasupai presents a somewhat different situation. This was their mainstay and as such makes them one with the Pueblos. Yet I am not certain that their concern and pride in their crops means that they have derived this attitude directly from the Pueblos. On the whole I am of the opinion that the intensity of a trait development is affected by neighbors' 171 241 x

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attitudes, but in this case there seems to be environmental determination. The home of the Havasupai is the one rich oasis in all western Arizona. If we picture them as originally like the Walapai with but a moderate interest in cultivation, once they were settled in Cataract canyon the extension of agriculture was well-nigh thrust upon them.

II

It appears to me that there are two primary trains of thought flowing from the consideration of a tribe's cultural position, one culture-historical, the other relating to the conditions of culture growth. What I mean by the latter will, I trust, become clearer as I proceed.

One inquiry is as valuable as the other: I should not be inclined to eschew culture history reconstructions on principle as A. R. Radcliffe-Brown seems to do. But for an understanding of the nature of culture and the processes by which its forms come into being, it seems unnecessary to indulge in historical reconstructions of grand scope. Some of the recent attempts in this direction, noticeably those dealing with American cultures, impress a moderately conservative individual as being highly tenuous or even downright careless and frivolous. Furthermore, this type of reconstruction is unnecessary.

A specific example, which is by no means extreme, is Kroeber's placing of girls' adolescence rites in California in an ancient cultural substratum.[4] His argument rests on the universality of the rites in that area despite its cleavage into several distinct culture provinces. Other traits having a much narrower distribution, such as the boys' initiations in the south and the Kuksu cult in central California, are in his opinion much more recent institutions. One might reaffirm Kroeber's opinion concerning girls' rites by pointing out that they are universal not only in California but throughout the Pacific coast from Alaska to the Southwest, whereas they are lacking to the east. We may at least assent that

[4] The History of Native Culture in California. Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., 20: 125-142, 1923.

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the practice has diffused throughout this wide continuous area without stating anything whatever as to its antiquity. We have then answered the historical question how the several Pacific tribes came by their girls' rites. As a matter of fact, the problem is not so simple as Kroeber depicts it, for there are at least four types of girls' rites in the Pacific area, as I will demonstrate in another place. What I am insisting is that we can answer a purely historical question without defining the precise antiquity of the custom.

It is perhaps inevitable that many of us will want to go further in delineating the general history of a culture. This may take the form of suggesting tentatively the basic culture from which it has specialized. But it seems to me unjustifiable in the present state of our knowledge to extend such interpretations beyond reasonably restricted limits.

If I may be permitted to indulge in such interpretation, I would suggest that Havasupai culture was once part of an undifferentiated Basin culture which extended southward across western Arizona to include as well Walapai, Yavapai, and Tonto. This proposition is based on the observation that Havasupai life is even now primarily of Basin type; Walapai, and perhaps Yavapai and Tonto, even more so. These four groups are linguistically close, Walapai and Havasupai practically identical, and all are set apart as peripheral in the distribution of the Yuman stock on its eastern margin. Further, the Havasupai and Walapai are in intimate cultural relations and have intermarried more than with others. Both groups look on the Havasupai somewhat as a division of the Walapai, despite a Havasupai tale purporting to describe their severance from the Yavapai. The most plausible explanation is, then, that the Havasupai are a group of Walapai who became distinct and somewhat specialized. Their specialization in agriculture I ascribe to their happy environment; their slight specialization in ritual to Navaho or perhaps Hopi contacts since the day of their separation.

Such a suggestion contains a minimum of hypothesis. But what does such culture history tell of the processes by which their culture took form? For this it seems better to turn to inquiries of another sort.

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The published account of Havasupai ethnography contains a large number of distribution studies covering as many items as comparative material made possible. These distributions spread in all directions from our center. The significance of this is contained in our often repeated assertion that a group are in all probability not the originators of more than a fraction of their culture. In the case of the Havasupai we may go so far as to deny them any originality, for there is perhaps not a single trait for which analogues may not be found somewhere in the vicinity. Yet Havasupai culture is no more identical with that of their neighbors than the physiognomy of two individuals in a closely inbred group. Its individuality lies in the final form and combination with which they have stamped the common traits.

A specific example of this is to be found in women's dress. This is comprised of two aprons; the one in front long, from breast to ankles, and hung about the neck like a butcher's apron, that behind hanging from waist to ankles. The front apron is a deer hide retaining its natural contours, with the neck skin turned down in front to form a yoke. With these a brief apron is worn under the long front piece. The peculiar form of this front apron becomes intelligible only when we consider the distribution of other types of garments in adjoining areas. To the east we have, apart from Pueblo women's dress, the long dress of the Plains tribes comprised of two skins forming a straight line at the shoulders and with the upper part (here the tail skin) turned down to form decorative flaps or yokes front and back. This dress in orthodox form is distributed as far west as Navaho, Jicarilla, Mimbreños Apache, and Kaibab Paiute. To the west and north women wear a short apron or two of skin or cords pendent from the belt. This fashion prevails as far east as Apache-Yuma, Maricopa, Pima, and possibly the Western Apache and Mescalero. It appears to me that the ancient western style known to Havasupai, two short aprons, has been influenced by the Plains form. The front apron has in effect been lengthened and the upper part turned down to form a decorative yoke. It is immaterial that this is hung by a band around the neck, for unless the back apron had been similarly lengthened some such device was necessary. This,

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then, is the special form which the Havasupai have given to the combined Plains and apron dresses. Even this is not peculiar to them alone, for the Yavapai have an identical costume. Other tribes on the border of mingled distributions have made the combination in other ways; the Kaibab have added a short front apron over the Plains dress, the Navaho linked two squares of cloth in the manner of the Plains dress, while quite another combination is the use of aprons and long dress alternately, as among the Klamath. Here we have illustrations of two kinds of cultural composition, namely combination and duplication.

We may observe another process, the transfer of a technique, in the sex division of labor. All work in skins is in the hands of Havasupai men from the butchery of a deer to the manufacture of a woman's dress. Skin dressing by men was also the custom among the Navaho, Yavapai, and Cocopa. Skin dressing and working in the Plains, on the other hand, is a womanly task, which suggests that in the Southwest the Pueblo idea of men as garment workers has been transferred to another material among their Rancheria neighbors.

Quite another analysis may be made in the case of games. It is possible to show that the moccasin game of the upper Mississippi drainage and the Southwestern hidden ball game, while superficially alike, are so because of convergent development.

To turn to quite another sphere, we find here ownership of fruit trees independent of the ground on which they stand, a feature strongly reminiscent of parts of Melanesia and the west coast of Africa. The factors in this development are obvious. Havasupai ownership of land is really ownership of the produce of the land, which is looked upon as so much personal property. Like other personal belongings, the standing crops are ordinarily cut down and burned on the death of their owner. Fruits (peaches, ultimately derived from Spanish sources, and nuts) were seemingly brought in as personal possessions and maintained as such. It is, then, quite in harmony with Havasupai sentiment toward land produce that the few fruit trees should be looked on as personal belongings to be disposed of by testament or sale regardless of the site they occupy.

7: Spier E-5 (1918-1921) 1929
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If we are concerned with the manner in which traits are borrowed we have a simple, rather mechanical procedure at hand in the introduction of a superior variety of devil's claw which is used in basket ornamentation. This was introduced by a Walapai wife who procured it from a sister, who in turn got it from the Paiute. In such an instance we observe the ready adoption of an article of obvious superiority. More complex is the manner in which certain mourning rites and songs have been taken over from the Walapai. The Havasupai are accustomed to participate in the Walapai mourning ceremony, a rite known to them as of Mohave origin. It has, however, not taken root among the Havasupai with the exception of the songs and dance which are indulged in by younger individuals as a pastime. Yet this meets with resistance on the part of their elders because of the sentiment of the songs' references to the dead.

A host of similar observations may be made, which in my opinion tell us more of the manner of culture growth than a bald recital of generalized culture history. I wish to repeat that such historical reconstructions are misleading and unnecessary. In an earlier discussion of the Plains sun dance I attempted an historical reconstruction and an analysis of the conditions of diffusion and assimilation of its elements.[1] I would now candidly admit that the historical reconstruction of the development of this complex is perhaps unnecessary for understanding the nature of the processes of culture growth and perhaps misleading. It would seem that a more fertile view is rather to be had from a consideration of the conditions under which that growth takes place.

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[1] The Sun Dance of the Plains Indians: Its Development and Diffusion. Anthr. Pap., Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., 16, pt 7., 1921.